

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 OMB-01 ACDA-05 /074 W

----- 045176

P R 170319Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6064

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

CINCPAC

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR KS JA

SUBJECT: ROK/JAPAN RELATIONS - EXPERTS MEET AT KORYO UNIVERSITY

SUMMARY: ROK AND JAPAN EXPERTS CONFERENCE AT KORYO UNIVERSITY  
PRODUCED SUBSTANTIAL AREA OF AGREEMENT IN CALM REASONED BUT  
TIME-LIMITED EXCHANGE WHICH MADE NO EFFORT TO COVER UP THE PROB-  
LEMS IN THE RELATIONSHIP. END SUMMARY.

1. KORYO UNIVERSITY'S ASIAN PROBLEMS RESEARCH INSTITUTE SPON-  
SORED A ONE-  
DAY CONFERENCE ON KOREA-JAPAN RELATIONS MARCH 15  
ATTENDED BY JAPAN'S LEADING MILITARY-ECONOMIC SCHOLAR KIICHI  
SAEKI, TOKYO UNIVERSITY'S BRIGHT YOUNG POLITICAL SCIENTIST  
SEIZABURO SATO AND KEIO UNIVERSITY POLITICAL SCIENTIST HIDEO  
UCHIYAMA. FROM THE KOREAN SIDE PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED INTER  
ALIA BLUE HOUSE SPECIAL ASSISTANT AND FOREIGN POLICY IDEA MAN  
KIM CHOM-KON AND THE KOREAN NATIONAL DEFENSE COLLEGE'S FIESTY,  
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PROVOCATIVE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT DIVISION DIRECTOR CHAE

KYONG-RAK. MEETING, ATTENDED BY EMBOFF, WAS CHARACTERIZED BY NO-NONSENSE, CONSTRUCTIVE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF THE ROK-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP AS WELL AS A PENETRATING AND THOUGHTFUL EXCHANGE ON THE POLITICAL-MILITARY MYTHS AND REALITIES OF THE JAPAN-KOREA RELATIONSHIP.

2. AMONG THE MORE COGENT OBSERVATIONS AT THE CONFERENCE WAS ONE BY SATO THAT WHILE JAPAN AND KOREA ARE GEOGRAPHICALLY CLOSE AND SIMILAR, THEY ARE GEOPOLITICALLY DIFFERENT. (AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO THE DIFFERENT GEOPOLITICAL OUTLOOK THAT AN ISLAND COUNTRY HAS FROM A CONTINENTAL COUNTRY.) SATO NOTED BOTH KOREANS AND JAPANESE ARE BETTER INFORMED ON EACH OTHER'S DEFECTS THAN ON THEIR GOOD POINTS AND URGED DEVOTION OF ADDITIONAL RESOURCES AND INCREASED EXCHANGE TO REMEDY THIS. SATO ALSO OBSERVED THAT A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF THE MYOPIA WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR THE RELATIVELY FAVORABLE JAPANESE PERSPECTIVE OF NORTH KOREA AS COMPARED TO SOUTH KOREA IS TRACEABLE TO THE ROMANTIC VIEW THAT THE JAPANESE HAVE OF ASIAN COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS (NORTH VIETNAM, PRC) AS COMPARED TO THEIR CORRUPT (SOUTH VIETNAM), INEFFECTUAL (WW II KUOMINTANG) COUNTERPARTS.

3. SAEKI, WHO GAVE THE POLITICAL-MILITARY PRESENTATION, ADVOCATED A COMBINED U.S., JAPAN, ROK EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT, SAID JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER MIKI HAD SAID OFF THE RECORD THAT JAPAN WOULD ALLOW USE OF U.S. BASES IN THE EVENT OF A NORTH KOREAN ATTACK, AND DECLARED THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE REDUNDANT AND UNNECESSARY FOR THE DEFENSE OF KOREA, ALTHOUGH THEIR REMOVAL WOULD CAUSE POLITICAL PROBLEMS. SAEKI SUPPORTED THE DETERRANT VALUE OF U.S. GROUND FORCES IN KOREA BUT EXPRESSED DOUBT ABOUT LONG-TERM CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR THEIR RETENTION, CONCLUDING THAT ANY WITHDRAWAL WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY PREPARED TO MAINTAIN THE POLITICAL-MILITARY BALANCE.

4. KIM KYONG-WON CRITICIZED APPROACHING U.S. MILITARY WITHDRAWAL FROM KOREA AS A TACTICAL PROBLEM, NOTING THAT SUCH A WITHDRAWAL WOULD TAKE PLACE AS A RESULT OF A PROFOUND SHIFT IN THE U.S. DOMESTIC BALANCE OF POWER SIGNALLING A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY WHICH WOULD HAVE GRAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR JAPAN AS WELL AS KOREA. KIM ALSO ARGUED THAT U.S. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TROOPS COULD NOT WITHDRAW FROM KOREA WITHOUT BASICALLY ALTERING NE ASIA SECURITY SITUATION SINCE SOVIET AND CHINESE PROPINQUITY TO KOREA WAS A CONSTANT FACTOR WHICH WOULD REMAIN UNAFFECTED. KIM ALSO MADE THE POINT THAT WHILE IN FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESSINGER'S VIEW THE DEFENSE BALANCE IN KOREA MAY HAVE BEEN "NOT UNSATISFACTORY" IT WAS "NOT SATISFACTORY" EITHER. HE ALSO SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HALLORAN NYT INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT PAK HAD SAID THAT ROK HOPED TO BE IN A POSITION BY 1980 TO HANDLE

A NORTH KOREAN ATTACK, NOT INVOLVING USSR OR PRC FORCES "WITHOUT U.S. LOGISTICAL SUPPORT", PAK HAD ACTUALLY SAID TO HALLORAN THAT "WITH U.S. LOGISTICAL SUPPORT WE WILL BE ABLE TO DEFEND OURSELVES AGAINST NORTH KOREA ALONE". EMBASSY COMMENT: JAPANESE OBVIOUSLY MADE AN EFFORT TO FIELD A FIRST-RATE TEAM FOR THIS CONSTRUCTIVE CONFERENCE AND KOREANS RESPONDED IN KIND. EXCHANGE WAS CALM AND REASONED ON BOTH SIDES AND WAS CHARACTERIZED BY SUBSTANTIAL EFFORT BY EACH SIDE TO UNDERSTAND THE OTHER, ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE KOREAN PARTICIPANTS SEEMED TO HAVE AN EXAGGERATED IDEA OF WHAT WOULD ACTUALLY BE POSSIBLE FOR THE JAPANESE TO DO TO FURTHER THE RELATIONSHIP. END COMMENT.

5. MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT WILL BE POUCHED SEPARATELY.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, MEETINGS, CONSULTANTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 17 MAR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** coburnhl  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** coburnhl  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 27 OCT 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <27 OCT 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <01 SEP 2004 by coburnhl>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ROK/JAPAN RELATIONS - EXPERTS MEET AT KORYO UNIVERSITY SUMMARY: ROK AND JAPAN EXPERTS CONFERENCE AT KORYO UNIVERSITY  
**TAGS:** PFOR, KS, JA  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006